7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Lebanon was chosen for this study because of the writer's interest
the country itself and because he had undertaken preliminary research on it. It 480
must be noted that Lebanon has a number of characteristics which tend to differ- 177
entiate it somewhat from its neighbors: it has been a refuge area for various re- 369
ligious sects, half of its population is Christian, it is one of the most intensively
acculturated of the Arabic-speaking countries, it is not the headquarters of any
nomadic tribes as such, and it is primarily a country of agricultural villages and
urban seaport centers. Urban studies in Lebanon, or in any other Middle East
country, will be of tremendous value and importance, but they must be based on
as thorough as possible an understanding of village life. This is because so many [116]
city dwellers were village born and bred. Furthermore, urban studies in the Middle
East should probably be undertaken by teams of researchers which include other
social scientists in addition to anthropologists. A village study is therefore the
most suitable type of research for a single anthropologist in Lebanon.

This work attempts to do two things: (1) to present as detailed a description 121
as possible of the culture-in-change of a Lebanese village; (2) to isolate the major
themes in the traditional culture and in the change process, and to present a
theoretical scheme which serves to give some form and meaning to the observed
phenomena.

In line with this purpose, there are two parts to the work. Part I is a descrip- 128
tive analysis of the village culture as of the time of investigation. This is the way
the people lived it and the way it was observed. Probably there is nothing unusual
in the categories into which this material is divided for presentation. However, a
note on them is in order. There can be little disagreement with Bateson's sugges-
tion (1935, p. 179) that such categories as "religion," "social life," and "eco-
nomics," lead to serious difficulties in the study of other cultures, especially when
the concepts behind their use are directly applicable only to the investigator's own
culture. Involved in this problem is the fact, brought into clear focus by the func-
tionalists, that the elements of culture and society are, by and large, interde-
pendent. One cannot, therefore, get very far into the discussion of such an inclu-
sive category as "religion," for example, without soon becoming involved in
questions of "economics" and "social life," as well as "ritual."

Afif Tannous has analyzed the Middle East village quite handily in terms of
three major categories: "Land," "Religion," and "Kinship Organization" (1944).
These he considers to be the major themes in village life. The present writer does
not follow this conceptualization in Part I, although he does draw upon it in
Part II. Tannous's categories of Land and Kinship Organization are approximately
covered in two separate chapters, but phenomena all of which could be subsumed
under Religion are discussed separately, for reasons which should become clear.
Categorical lines must be drawn somewhere if system is to be used, as it must be.
The problem is to define categories in such a way that there is no undue repetition
and yet so that the interdependent, or overlapping nature of cultural elements is
given recognition. The arrangement of Part I is an attempt to achieve these ends.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

It is not claimed that Part I is a complete ethnography of the village. It *is* as complete as the investigator could make it, and any glaring omissions are either the fault of his limited abilities and opportunities or the result of the avoidance of certain topics for reasons of rapport.

Part II begins with a retrogression in time, presenting a brief reconstruction of the traditional village culture and a history of the development of present conditions. The various lines of culture change are then sorted out, and their differential effects on various aspects of the culture are analyzed. The most important conclusion is that the social structure, i.e., kinship and marriage patterns, a matter of great importance in the traditional culture, has proved remarkably resistant to change. The theory is then advanced that village social structure in the Middle East generally represents but one phase, or "sphere," in an overall pattern which constitutes the skeleton of Middle East society. Hence, in part, its resistance to change.

The germ of this theory took root in the writer's mind some time ago (Gulick, 1949, pp. 190–91). However, it did not take on systematic form until he became acquainted with the hierarchical system of kinship-political units which Evans-Pritchard analyzes in *The Nuer*. The theory developed in Part II is an adaptation of Evans-Pritchard's basic concepts, supported by Murdock (1949), Coon (1951), and others. In brief, the theory postulates a hierarchical system of strong in-group types: extended family, lineage, local group, sect group, and nation, to mention the five most important. The totality of units of each type constitutes a "sphere." The cohesive strength of the village under study is largely due to the fact that it happens that three of the spheres are coterminous in it.

This is primarily a social structural interpretation of a cultural situation. As far as it goes, and as far as he can see, the writer believes it to be valid. Most emphatically, however, its status is that of an hypothesis only. The writer hopes that it may be tested by further research of the same type, and, especially, against the conclusions drawn from investigations which have a different theoretical and methodological orientation.

[21] I. Goods and Services.
- A. Merchandise
- B. Non-Monetary Gold
- C. Foreign Travel
- D. Transport and Insurance
- E. Investment Income
- F. Government Expenditures (not included elsewhere)
- G. Miscellaneous Services

II. Donations and Capital Movements.
- A. Emigrants' Remittances and Transfers
- B. Charitable and Cultural Institutions
- C. Government
- D. Capital Movements

III. Compensatory Financial Operations.

[127] Whenever possible, use has been made of available official information, after suitable corrections and adjustments. Very often, however, the lack of data in various sectors of the economy has necessitated private inquiries which sometimes took the form of supplementary independent surveys. Thus a five-month survey was made of the important summer resort industry, *estivage*, and of tourist expenditures.

[439] The years 1951 and 1952 have been chosen for purposes of this study, as they constitute the only twelve-month periods for which there are complete trade figures for Lebanon alone and for which final government budget accounts are available. Prior to March 1950, Lebanon formed a customs union with Syria, and trade returns of the two countries were combined. The lack of proper records makes it impossible to estimate even approximately the share of each country at that time in total exports and imports. When the customs union was terminated on March 13th, 1950, Lebanon established its own customs, started recording its commercial transactions and embarked on an independent trade and exchange policy. This development makes a preliminary computation of Lebanon's balance of payments not only possible but also necessary if the effects of the new policy are to be properly appraised.

[128] The results obtained in this study have been summarized in the following tables in both abridged and standard forms. An

explanatory text follows. It should be emphasized here that these 128
results are merely tentative and should not be utilized except with great caution. Indeed, some of the estimates given are perhaps no more than informed guesses. Yet, it is believed that the degree of error is not such as to distort the relationships portrayed in the balance here presented.

As the period of time covered in this study is relatively short, no economic commentary of these relationships has been undertaken. However, it is planned to include such a commentary in the study of the balance of payments in 1953, which is now underway. It is expected that some general trends would then become discernible, thus making possible a general and more meaningful appraisal of the situation.

ME1 Lebanon ME1

8: Fei and Klat
125, 128 ●

/For an account of the gathering of information on items affecting the balance of payments in Lebanon, copies of questionnaires used, etc. and an explanation of statistical methods used to derive balance of payment items, see category 116, entire source./

%Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 MEI Lebanon MEI

GRAPHIC SUMMARY

• 128 THESE PICTORIAL STATISTICS ARE INTENDED TO GIVE THE READER THE SALIENT FACTS REGARDING THE AREA TO BE AFFECTED BY THE KASMIE RURAL IMPROVEMENT PROJECT. THIS AREA COVERS THE FIVE PROJECT VILLAGES OF SARAFAND, SAKSA-KIYAH, LOUBYA, EN-NSARIYAH, AND 'ADLOUN. ALSO INCLUDED IN THIS GRAPHIC PRESENTATION ARE THE CONTROL VILLAGES OF EL-GHAZIYAH, EN-NAJJARIYAH, AND EL-'ADDOUSIYAH THAT NEIGHBOR ON THE PROJECT AREA.

592 AVERAGE SIZE of HOUSEHOLD

Eight Villages

six persons per family

9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 MEI Lebanon MEI

VILLAGE SURVEY

KASMIE RURAL IMPROVEMENT PROJECT

LEBANON

BY

William W. Gaston,
Miles Pennoyer,
Gabriel Nagro[1]

The five villages to be affected by the Kasmie Rural Improvement Project are located along the northern branch of the Kasmie Irrigation Canal. The area comprising these villages[2] includes but largely lies above the Kasmie Irrigation Project which, when completed, will service the rich coastal plain extending from Saida in the north to Ras-El-Ain three miles south of Tyre. The Kasmie Irrigation Project was begun under the French Mandate, continued during the British occupation, and partially completed under the Lebanese Republic. Due to a lack of funds, work on the project was discontinued in 1950 when about half of the canal area to be irrigated was under operating canals. It covers an area of 30,000 dunums of land and extends a length of 35 kilometers (23 miles). It averages 1.5 kilometers (one mile) in width. The completed portion of the irrigation works supplies water to prosperous new citrus orchards, banana groves and vegetable gardens.

---

[1] Mr. Gaston is land agricultural economist with the Litani River Investigation Group and Chief of the Rural Statistical Surveys Project. Mr. Pennoyer is an assistant professor of economics at the American University of Beirut who participated in this study as a consultant to the Lebanese Ministry of National Economy. Mr. Nagro is a junior economist on the staff of the Litani Group.

[2] In the Arab Middle East the English term village can mean either the built-up area alone or the built-up area and all the surrounding land farmed by the villagers, which is legally appurtenant to it. To avoid misinterpretation, two Arabic terms have been adopted. The term *dimmeye* is used to denote the larger concept which includes the built-up area and other lands appurtenant to it. The term *khirbe* is used to designate the built-up area or the town itself. Thus, either of populations or land area, is not involved in the use of these concepts.

TABLE 1—(Continued)

Skin pigmentation

PLACE	RELIGION	SEX	NUMBER	PER CENT HAVING INDICATED DEGREE OF COLOR			
				1	2	3	4
Bourij	Muslim	Male	60	53.9	41.2	2.9	0
"	"	Female	39	72.9	27.1	0	0
Meshghara	Christian	Male	30	73.1	26.9	0	0
"	"	Female	17	76.5	23.5	0	0
"	Muslim	Male	122	61.6	38.4	0	0
"	"	Female	67	70.1	29.9	0	0
"	All	Male	222	66.7	33.3	0	0
"	"	Female	84	77.4	22.6	0	0
Beyrouth and Ghazir (Armenians)	Christian	Male	188	36.7	62.7	0.4	0
	"	Female	173	55.5	44.5	0	0
'Aleidyn	Druse	Male	11	63.6	36.4	0	0
"	"	Female	17	70.6	29.4	0	0

121 Since there are often sharp local variations in physical characteristics in Syria, we give our results separately for each locality investigated. Where more than one religious group was represented, we have subdivided our subjects on this basis also, as the barriers to mixture of different religious groups are still kept up, and there is some reason to suppose that different ethnic stocks may be represented in each to different degrees. This also enables us to look for the possible effects of inbreeding on the various characters.

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

123 The results for the A,B blood groups are on the whole what was to be expected. The Armenian results show the high percentage of A found by previous workers (compare Boyd, '39 b). These individuals represent a recent influx into our area. We were informed that our subjects were mostly from Marash and vicinity, Turkey. In the case of the two Arab villages, it is rather surprising that the results for Bourij, where all are Moslems, should agree well with the results for the Christians from Meshghara, while the Christians and Moslems in Meshghara show a significant difference in blood group frequencies. It is our impression, however, that the